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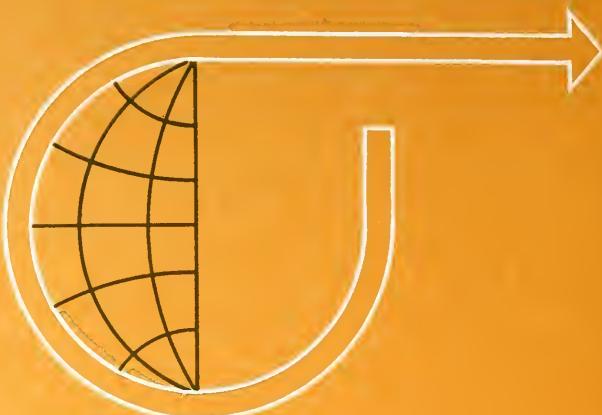
Some American Comments on Southern Africa

Comments across
the nation

Introduced and edited by Elsie and Frank S. Meyer



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The American-African Affairs Association is happy to publish this survey by Mr. and Mrs. Meyer of recent American comments on developments in southern Africa. It seems quite clear that American public opinion is far from unanimous about the wisdom of following the lead of the United Nations' Afro-Asian bloc in dealing with problems concerning this vast region. Moreover, there is considerable reason to think that a definite shift in American opinion—away from intervention in the internal affairs of Rhodesia, South Africa and the Portuguese provinces, and toward a policy of non-interference—may be taking place. It is to the recent evidences of such a shift that the Meyers address themselves.

It goes without saying that the American-African Affairs Association does not itself recommend one policy or another. But it welcomes intelligent discussion of all points of view, to the end that the American people may make their own decisions in these grave matters with the fullest possible information. It is in this spirit that we commend to your consideration "Some American Comments on Southern Africa."

WILLIAM A. RUSHER
Co-Chairman
American-African Affairs Association

INTRODUCTION

American opinion has begun to react with surprising vigor against the recent action of the United Nations concerning Africa. Extensive excerpts from newspaper comment and from statements of prominent spokesmen across the nation, printed in the pages of this brochure, reflect a new appraisal of American policy. Up to now Americans by and large have not been much concerned with Africa. It still seems remote, they know little of it to begin with, and the multiplying confusions and complexities of present developments, reflected in headlines, are an incomprehensible jumble of strange names, strange places, and strange issues. If one firm impression has emerged out of this flux, it is that any white presence in Africa, regardless of context or historical development, is morally evil, by definition repressive and exploitative of the black population.

Acceptance of such a distortion, coupled with lack of adequate information, has been conducive to the absence of informed debate on American policy and in particular on United Nations actions regarding Africa. Apart from a vague attitude that we should "help" the advancement of the black nations, most Americans seem to feel, understandably enough in an age which sees the world beset with "problems" that demand "solutions" (rather than a world reflecting various manifestations of the human condition which men can strive to improve), that here at least is one "problem" we are not called upon to "solve."

But we are involved in the United Nations and the consequences which flow from its actions. Nowhere is the proclivity to abstractions and "problem solving" more pronounced than in this body. The root assumption seems to be that mankind is undifferentiated and diversity of every kind should ideally be dissolved in an amorphous "brotherhood of man." No one can point to a single spot in the real world where differences—cultural, religious, ethnic, national, political, tribal—do not cause friction. It suffices to mention only a few of the "trouble spots": tribal strife all over Africa, Flemings and Walloons in Belgium, Malay and Chinese and Indian and Pakistani in Asia, Negro and white in the United States, Jew and Arab in the Middle East, and

across-the-board persecution (national, religious, political) in the Soviet Union. Nonetheless, the United Nations, unrestrained and even abetted by the more experienced nations, propose to iron out all the kinks in this wrinkled world, even though the hot iron rend the social fabric at its well-worn creases.

Sub-Saharan Africa, for a variety of reasons, lends itself especially to United Nations exercises in flexing their muscles: no major power has any firm commitments in the area; no long-established smaller nations, with the exception of South Africa, exist to offer effective resistance; there are a great number of newly formed states without national cohesion, without resources, and in many cases without significant territory or population, but with U.N. voices and votes equal to those of established nations, even the most powerful. So fluid a situation can surely be moulded to a desired form, and the most cherished utopian form is egalitarianism. Therefore it is abstractly decreed that egalitarianism shall be imposed on an African reality whose concrete social and economic organization ranges from stark primitivism to modern industrialism.

Against this background, the United Nations has therefore mounted a massive diplomatic attack on South Africa: directly by challenging its jurisdiction over South West Africa, and indirectly by voting mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia, which is economically sustained by South Africa. Because its Charter forbids intervention in the internal affairs of member states, the United Nations has sought legality for its actions on the pretext that these eminently peaceful states pose a threat to international peace.

Matters are made worse by the fact that the real and serious charge behind the actions of the United Nations, alleged "racism" in Rhodesia and South Africa, stirs up an emotionalism which engulfs all consideration of orderly procedure or of dangerous precedent, any sober judgment of facts or consequences. Nor are a number of extremist black leaders of African nations slow to take advantage of the emotionalism and the egalitarian abstractions to press a blatant black racism. They would enlist the armed force of the powerful nations to crush the white populations of

Southern Africa and install black elites, an extremely narrow group, to rule over their countrymen. The abrupt disruption of the traditional tribal structure of Africa and of the advanced economic organization established by the whites would spell chaos,—the precise reverse of an orderly progression to modernization.

The “let’s-you-and-him-fight” policy of the United Nations cannot be dismissed as palpably absurd, in view of the solemn credence and wide circulation given to completely unfounded charges. The abusive shouting which monopolizes the headlines has left Americans virtually uninformed about certain crucial, sober facts:

● **Rhodesia.** The white settlers of Rhodesia, who have developed a peaceful and prosperous economy, have (quite unlike the South Africans) adopted as their goal a multi-racial state. Qualifications for the franchise apply impartially to black and white citizens alike. Admittedly, few black citizens as yet qualify, but Rhodesia is also devoting earnest effort and substantial resources to promoting such qualification through education and training for economic advancement of her black citizens. Rhodesia may not succeed in her aim; she may be overwhelmed by the “one man/one vote” innovation, which has submerged the long-established doctrine of an informed electorate as a prerequisite of self-government. But that does not make her aim “racist.”

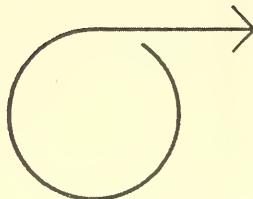
● **South Africa.** The aim of South Africa is likewise widely misunderstood. The policy of separate development, known as apartheid, is directed toward “multi-nation coexistence,” to the developing of the black nations within South Africa to an eventual equal status with the white nation, and it must be conceded that South Africa is devoting truly prodigious energy and expenditure to the advancement of the black population. Again, the policy may not succeed, but as the respected economist, the late Wilhelm Roepke, put it, it is not “stupid or evil.” There are, of course, flaws in its application, as in any human endeavor. Some repressive measures of the South African government stem from its virtual state of siege in a hostile and

misinformed world; others (like job reservation and other colorbar acts), from the pressure of its highly organized trade unions; and still others, from rigid patterns of human behavior, resistant to change in any circumstance or clime.

● **Modernization.** The paramount need of Africa is trained personnel and manpower. As the only highly industrialized nation in Africa, South Africa is in a unique position to assist the development of her neighbors, as she has done and is doing in respect to her own less developed people in the Republic itself and in South West Africa. She has established friendly relations with the independent black states of Malawi, Lesotho, and Botswana and, as the late Dr. Verwoerd put it, "we leave the door of friendship open to all other African states, in the hope that more and more of them will in the course of time make use of it." It is indisputable that the greatest strides of the black population on the continent are being made in stable and prosperous southern Africa. Little consideration seems to have been given by the United Nations to the economic disaster which would ensue for all black Africans if the most advanced and productive sector of the continent were disrupted by sanctions or war—which would, incidentally, concomitantly smash the British economy and end its substantial aid to Africa. Just how the United Nations could sustain the economy of even South West Africa seems to be a question too practical to have occurred to the adventurist politicians who now overshadow the world body.

The strong Congressional reaction to recent United Nations actions is the most heartening sign that a hitherto lopsided approach to American policy on Africa will be replaced by vigorous debate, based on information rather than ideology. Even some of the harshest critics of South Africa and Rhodesia are taking a hard look at the perilous course being charted at the United Nations. The following pages of comment from the nation's press indicate the growing awareness of the dangers of this course.

COMMENT
ACROSS
THE NATION



U.S. BACKS BRITAIN ON U.N. SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA

Goldberg, in Speech, Silently Sough...
BRITAIN IS URGED TO ASK U.N. TO P... BIES DENOUNCE
oil for Rhodesia BRITISH BID IN U.N.
Conservatives Break With
Labor Over Plan to Ask
Members of Commonwealth
to Vote That Would

CRISIS SPURS UNITY IN AFRICA'S SOUTH

Rhodesian
Ian Doug

Special to The New York Times
WHITE Rhodesians call
their Prime Minister
"Man Ian."
is a tough name for a
man, and Ian Douglas
whose Government
yesterday
the Cou...
ns Se...

Rhodesians Strengthen Tie
With White Neighbors

By LAWRENCE FELLOWS
Times

BRITAIN BIDS U.N. CURB RHODESIANS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

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Prime Minister Ian D. Smith an
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its downfall.

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ZAMBIA DEMANDS BAN ON ALL TRADE WITH RHODESIA

cts Britain's U.N. Plan
Selective Sanctions—
resses Oil Embargo

WILSON'S ROLE ASSAILED

RHODESIA

Letter from former Secretary of State Dean Acheson in the Washington Post and New York Times:

It would be a mistake to cavil at a sound conclusion because of persnickety trouble with some of the preceding reasoning. You are certainly right in the first and last sentence of your editorial on Dec. 9 on sanctions against Rhodesia: "The central fact of the Rhodesian situation is that there does not seem to be much to do about it . . . It is not a time for posturing and empty gestures." You are also right that whatever the Rhodesians have done has been wholly within their own country and contains no element of aggression. But you bother me when you speak of "the white minority's transgressions." Transgressions against what? What international obligations have they violated?

International law does not proclaim the sanctity of British dominion over palm and pine. Certainly we Americans are in no position to declare it—we who conspired to instigate French aggression against British power in America and not only threatened but shattered international peace to achieve our independence. Furthermore, the British government has conceded since 1923 that Rhodesia is not only self-governing but responsible for its own defense and security. Therefore, to assert *de jure* as well as *de facto* independence is not a transgression.

Certainly Rhodesia's voting laws and system of popular representa-

tion in its legislature are not contrary to any international obligation. The one man, one vote deduction from the Fourteenth Amendment is not recognized in international law, as our friend King Faisal of Saudi Arabia can testify. Indeed, the present system in Rhodesia, broadly speaking, has been in effect and regarded with complacency in Great Britain for nearly half a century.

You quite rightly observed that this system operates entirely within the boundaries of Rhodesia and affects no one else. In such a situation the U.N. Charter is plain. Chapter I, Article 2, paragraph 7 provides unequivocally that the United Nations shall not intervene in matters which are within the internal jurisdiction of any state. The United Nations evades this simple command by reasoning worthy of the Red Queen in *Through The Looking Glass*. One has to follow it closely. Rhodesia, in doing what the U.N. has no jurisdiction to forbid, annoys African members to the point where they may transgress against the First Commandment of the U.N. (Chapter I, Article 4):

"All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state."

Since Rhodesia by doing what

it has always done and with which the United Nations cannot constitutionally interfere, incites less law-abiding members to violate their solemn obligation not to use force or the threat of force in their international relations, Rhodesia

becomes a threat to the peace and must be coerced.

If this reasoning leads the reader to ask with Mr. Chanler, "Who's loony now?", don't blame Rhodesia, blame the Security Council and Harold Wilson.

The syndicated Allen-Scott Report

His [Acheson's] views and suggestions are being incorporated in a "white paper" on "U.S. Policy Toward Rhodesia" which the House GOP Policy Committee will issue early in the new Congress.

Senate Republican Leader Everett Dirksen also has consulted Acheson in preparation for joining the House GOP in blasting the Johnson administration for supporting the mandatory economic sanctions voted by the United Nations against Rhodesia. . . .

The former Democratic cabinet officer's new role as a Republican adviser grew out of a letter he wrote members of Congress forcefully challenging the legal basis for the U.N. action against Rhodesia.

In this presentation, Acheson contended that "the threat or use of force against Rhodesia violated

the very charter on which the U.N. was founded." . . .

As drafted at this writing, the GOP Policy Committee's paper opposing the administration's stand on Rhodesia stresses four points:

— It is legally erroneous and dangerous for the United States to support mandatory sanctions against the African country.

— The sanctions are certain to fall without the use of force and this will embarrass and possibly undermine the U.N.

— Cited in support of this contention was the collapse of the League of Nations after it imposed sanctions against Italy for invading Ethiopia.

— If force should be used to enforce the U.N. sanctions, this could lead to widespread war in Africa in which U.S. forces would be involved. . . .

James J. Kilpatrick in the Washington Evening Star

Ambassador Arthur Goldberg did little to sell his case on Rhodesia in a speech here a few days ago. His case has been flimsy from the very beginning; and the more he attempts to shore it up, the more glaringly its weaknesses lie exposed.

The U.S. ambassador to the

United Nations chose the prestigious annual luncheon of the Association of American Law Schools for delivery of an address widely regarded as an answer to Dean Acheson's blast at the U.N.'s actions. It was not Goldberg's finest hour. . . .

The Security Council's action in

imposing mandatory sanctions upon Rhodesia, said the ambassador, "does not flout the principle of self-determination." And this is because—here the mind boggles—this is because the white minority Rhodesian regime is not asserting the right of self-determination. It would appear to the minds of ordinary men, gifted with ordinary powers of reason, that it is immaterial what the white minority Rhodesian regime asserts. The action of the Security Council either flouts, or it does not flout, regardless of any assertions in Salisbury.

This was Goldberg's second point. The U.N. Charter's ban against intervention in matters that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state has not been violated because—and again the mind boggles—because Rhodesia is a British territory and not a "state" with its own sovereignty. Rhodesia has been a functioning *de facto* state for the last 14 months. To the naked eye, it exhibits every attribute of sovereignty by which one ordinarily recognizes a state—an established government, a condition of domestic peace and order, a code of laws, a system of courts, a parliament sitting. But Goldberg will have it both ways. Rhodesia is not a state; it is a territory of Britain. Are we to understand, then, that a nation's territories are not among those matters essentially within its own jurisdiction? It is a novel thought.

Goldberg gets around the consequences of this line of non-reasoning by observing that the principle of non-intervention, which Acheson thought had been expressed so unequivocally in Article I of the Charter, contains an exception. "This principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement procedures under Chapter VII." And it is under Chapter VII, of course, that Britain has asked and obtained sanctions against Rhodesia. The aston-

ishing precedent that would be established by Goldberg's ingenious construction is that any member nation may demand the entire massed might of the United Nations to prevent one of its territories from attaining independence.

Once he reaches Chapter VII, the ambassador is in deeper trouble; for in order validly to invoke Chapter VII, it must be shown that Rhodesia has created a threat to the peace. This proposition was quite beyond Goldberg's powers. His argument boiled down to this, that white Rhodesia's peaceful independence provokes her black neighbors in the same way that a diamond in a jeweler's window provokes the passing thief. It is all the fault of Rhodesia; it is all the fault of the jeweler. Rhodesia's action "involves great risks of violence." Goldberg has said so. But men may ask if this makes it so.

Finally, the ambassador asserts that the international community, in the late twentieth century, cannot accept the existence of a discriminatory system based on minority rule, especially when the discrimination rests upon racial grounds. The United States, he remarked by way of proof, laid down that policy with its own civil war a century ago.

This is the frailest argument of all, for it asks us to assume that all nations, and all societies, stand at the same moment in time upon the same rung of civilization's ladder. The Constitution of the United States, when it was drafted in 1787, specifically condoned human slavery. Our own system of government was controlled by a male minority against a female majority at least until 1920. The principle of "one man, one vote," enunciated in *Baker v. Carr*, appeared only a moment ago.

In one form or another, "discrimination" exists throughout the world. There is not a member nation of the United Nations, including Britain and the United

States, which does not accept this reality in some fashion. When Goldberg demands that late 20th century standards be imposed upon African tribes still squinting as

they stumble out of the Stone Age, he cannot stand on history. And as his speech abjectly demonstrated, neither can he stand on law.

U. S. News and World Report

The United States, at the direction of President Lyndon B. Johnson, voted for the U.N. action and is pledged to obey the U.N. sanctions. . . .

Now grave questions are being asked about the U.S. role in this affair. Some members of Congress—Democrats as well as Republicans—are criticizing the Johnson Administration's action and preparing to make an issue of it.

The legality of the U.N. action under the U.N. Charter is challenged by such an authority as Dean Acheson, who was Secretary of State in the Democratic Administration of President Harry S. Truman.

The legality of U.S. involvement under the U.S. Constitution is challenged by Representative H. R. Gross (Rep.), of Iowa.

Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr. (Dem.), of Virginia, questions the wisdom of U.S. involvement at a time when this country already is embroiled in a costly and dangerous war in Vietnam. . . .

Other lawmakers are reported to be planning to raise the Rhodesian issue in the next session of Congress, which opens on January 10. . . .

One question raised by critics is this: Why is the U.N. taking action against a country which is at peace—while taking no such action against nations that wage aggressive war?

"Rhodesia is not an aggressor nation and does not seek to interfere with any other nation's affairs," says Senator Byrd. . . .

Representative Gross contends that U.S. participation in the U.N.

boycott of Rhodesia violates the U.S. Constitution, which says that Congress, and not the President, shall have the power to regulate foreign commerce. . . .

This question also is being asked by critics of the U.S. action:

Is the United States Government now committed to the principle of overthrowing every government in the world which is based upon minority rule?

The question grows out of the words of the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Arthur J. Goldberg, in his explanation of why the U.S. is supporting the U.N. sanctions.

Addressing the U.N. Security Council on December 12, Mr. Goldberg said:

"We support them [the U.N. sanctions] in the honest conviction that they are now necessary in order to drive home to the illegal regime [of Rhodesia] that the international community will not tolerate the existence of a discriminatory system based on minority rule in defiance of the United Nations and its principles."

At least 37 member nations of the U.N. have governments that are "based on minority rule." At least 25 other U.N. members are open to suspicion in this respect. Fewer than half of all the 122 U.N. members have governments clearly based on majority rule.

Dictatorships—political or military—exist in such U.N. countries as Soviet Russia, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Burma, Cuba, Indonesia, Haiti, Iran, Iraq, Paraguay, Portugal, Saudi Arabia,

Pakistan, Egypt, as well as Nigeria, Ethiopia, Guinea, Ghana and other small nations of Africa that have assumed independence in recent years.

Outside the U.N., there are Communist dictatorships in East Germany, Red China, North Korea and North Vietnam. . . .

Critics ask: Is the U.S. prepared to endorse and take part in

U.N. actions to bring majority rule to these nations?

U.S. Ambassador Goldberg conceded in his address to the U.N. Security Council that "it is an unhappy fact that some situations exist in the world in which the Council is unable to act effectively." But he added, "Here is a situation in which we can act." . . .

Senator Thomas J. Dodd (Dem.) of Connecticut on an American Security Council Washington Report broadcast

As those who know my own record are aware, I have all my life been a staunch advocate of civil rights in our own country and of freedom for peoples living under colonial rule and for the captive nations of Europe. But I consider our support of the United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia to be a grave blunder which, if we fail to alter course, may ultimately lead to the destruction of the United Nations.

The decision is all the more tragic because the government of Rhodesia does not practice apartheid like the government of South Africa and because, in the recent conversations with Prime Minister Wilson, the Rhodesian government made it clear that it did not oppose the principle of majority rule, but that it was simply against the assumption of power by the black majority in an over-hasty chaotic, and destructive manner.

But even if the Rhodesian government had rejected majority rule in principle, this would still not justify United Nations sanc-

tions against her. If sanctions were to be invoked against every government that violates human rights and denies political or racial justice to its citizens, we would find ourselves in a condition of permanent and universal war, not merely with the Communist bloc; but probably with a majority of the governments represented in the United Nations.

The situation is fraught with danger. Now that Britain and America have made this first concession to Afro-Asian opinion, the Afro-Asians, with Communist support, are pushing to expand Prime Minister Wilson's partial boycott of Rhodesia into a total boycott of Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola, and South Africa, including the shipments of oil to these countries. Such a boycott would not only be ruinous to the economy of the western world, but it would create a serious danger of involving us in a major military action that runs counter to our national interest, and from which only the Communists could benefit.

Walter Lippmann's syndicated column

Mr. Harold Wilson, having been unable as Prime Minister of Great Britain to come to terms with the

Rhodesian rebellion against the British crown, has called upon the United Nations to take over the

problem and solve it if it can. What is the United Nations supposed to do about the Rhodesian rebellion? It is supposed to cut off trade with Rhodesia, or at least as much trade as can be cut off without the risk of war with South Africa and Portugal. The purpose of the embargo is to injure Rhodesia enough to convince the settlers' government that its policy of excluding Africans from power cannot be sustained and that it should accept Britain's terms.

This is surely a most extraordinary way to suppress a rebellion against the sovereignty of an imperial power. At any other time a rebellion like that in the Rhodesian capital of Salisbury would have been put down by British troops, or if the troops were unable to put it down, the independence of the Rhodesian government would have been recognized in a treaty of peace....

The crucial fact is that while the British imperial power in Rhodesia has vanished, Mr. Wilson is trying to act as if it had not vanished. He is trying to act as the protector and guardian of the African majority. And he is trying to confer upon this African majority the benefits of a rise in their political power which, if the British empire still existed, might be achieved gradually by a strong and wise imperial administration. . . . Great Britain cannot lose an empire and have it, too.

It is no less unrealistic to pretend that the United Nations can

muster enough power to suppress the rebellion. Among the new African states there exists no force, military or economic, which could make a serious impact upon Rhodesia backed by South Africa. Britain itself, having from the outset renounced the use of imperial power, is not likely to use it now. No European nation will use force to subdue the ruling whites who are still entrenched in the southern half of the African continent. It seems improbable that a case will be constructed for American intervention. The United Nations has no more force than the force which its strongest members will provide themselves or will approve of.

The plea to the United Nations to use force against Rhodesia is a disservice to the United Nations. Mr. Wilson is asking the U.N. to do what it was never meant to do, what it is not organized to do and what it cannot do. The circumstances in which a resort to the United Nations would have been justified would have been if Mr. Wilson had asked the United Nations for help in negotiating a treaty of independence for the state of Rhodesia. For the prospect of recognition by the whole world community would be a very considerable bargaining point.

Bargaining about what? About the length of time, about the conditions and the phases, of the enfranchisement of the African majority. Their full enfranchisement cannot come immediately or very soon. . . .

Crosby S. Noyes, Foreign Editor, Washington Star

Leaving aside the legalistic frills, the United Nations was being asked to move against Rhodesia as an act of conscience. Yet conscience, so far as the British were

concerned, was limited to what the traffic would bear. Trade would be cut off only to the extent that British economic interest were not seriously impaired. Every attempt

by African militants to extend the list of embargoed items was met with stiff resistance.

The legal aspects of the case were also troublesome.

Either Rhodesia is an independent country, or it is not. If the British, as they maintain, still exert legal sovereignty in their former colony, then surely the exclusive responsibility for dealing with the rebel regime lies with them. The United Nations has no mandate whatever to preserve the authority of the British Crown over the remnants of its African empire.

On the other hand, if Rhodesia is, in fact, an independent country the United Nations has even less right to take action. As former Secretary of State Dean Acheson has pointed out, the United Nations is specifically prohibited under the U.N. Charter from interfering in the internal affairs of any state. The makeup of the government in Salisbury is no more the business of the Security Council than the makeup of the govern-

ment in Washington.

To get around this awkward dilemma, the British, echoed most unfortunately by the U.S. delegate, Arthur Goldberg, were forced to concoct a perfectly transparent piece of fiction.

This was that Rhodesia, by offending a number of other African states, had itself somehow become a "threat to the peace." Although Rhodesia has threatened no one at any time, the remote danger that its neighbors might resort to military force was seized on as a pretext to justify U.N. intervention....

The British, for all their moralizing, have heard themselves denounced by their Commonwealth colleagues as charlatans and fakes. The Americans have been drawn into a quarrel that is none of their business. The Communists have had a field day fishing in troubled waters. The United Nations has established precedents which could hold the seeds of its own destruction....

Lyle Wilson in the Washington News

After the peaceful white man's government of Rhodesia has been lynched on charges of inciting war, and the area has been given back to the black Africans, the

United Nations should set about returning Manhattan Island to the Indians, who might be too smart to take it back but the gesture should be made....

Melchior Palyi in the Chicago Tribune

At Britain's request, this country has committed itself to prohibit 80 per cent of Rhodesia's sales to America [we are her prime customers] and to blockade her vital oil imports. This is an extraordinary

measure that may lead to war—under the pretext of maintaining the peace....

But the British Laborites and their Liberal cousins in America claim a principle of social justice

is at stake that must be enforced, cost what it may [as long as no major country, not even South Africa, is to be challenged]. One Man, One Vote, is the ideal—the rule by majority. They are determined to make Africa safe for Democracy. And Democracy is scarcely compatible with a system in which 250,000 whites have all the votes and 4,000,000 Negroes have none.

That sounds reasonable, indeed, except it provides a caricature of democracy rather than the real thing. Democracy stands on two legs, as it were. To believe that majority rule alone, the one-man-one-vote principle, is all that matters, is sheer confusion. It may mean abject tyranny, unless it is organically merged with a second and equally fundamental rule, the guarantee of the minority's life, liberty, and property.

It is totally irresponsible to force

the majority rule down the throat of a minority without guaranteeing the civil rights of the latter. Did we, or the British, did the U.N., undertake to offer any such assurance to the white Rhodesians who, incidentally, do respect the human rights of the indigenous population?

The map of Africa is dotted with more than a score of independent states, old and new, governed by brown or black peoples. In too many of them, the white settlers who had built up the respective economies have been robbed, expelled, murdered, or at any rate reduced to second-class citizens. Nor is it a consolation, as is the case in the great majority of the African "colored" states, that self-appointed dictators deprive even the majorities of their natural rights. Have you ever heard of the United Nations raising a finger to protect the victims? . . .

Washington Post (D. C.)

No Sanctions

The United States is off on the wrong foot in the United Nations debate on whether to impose sanctions against Rhodesia. It is trying to support the British, ingratiate the black African states and protect American business interests without conceding that there are disabling contradictions among these goals.

Ambassador Goldberg justified action on grounds that "the danger to peace is obviously growing" in Rhodesia. This is simply not so. Rhodesia threatens no foreign country. If any other country threatens Rhodesia, Mr. Goldberg should properly direct his fire there.

The Ambassador further declared that "the international community will not tolerate the existence of a discriminatory system based on minority rule in defiance of the U.N." This is even more nonsensical. The "international community's" toleration of "discriminatory systems" is transparently broad.

Any American effort to keep up with the black Africans is, we hope, doomed. They want the U.S. to make their dreams of Rhodesian ruin come true. Their distress is understandable, but insupportable. Their unreality progressed yesterday to the point where African delegates deplored Britain's refusal

to use force to overthrow the Salisbury regime.

Britain has its own reasons of economic vulnerability and domestic division for limiting sanctions against Salisbury. It has refused to second African demands for a total oil embargo on Rhodesia because it cannot afford to close the South African loophole.

But even lesser sanctions are, in

our opinion, unwise. There is no reason to believe they will be effective. They set a questionable precedent. They amount to interference in the domestic affairs of another country merely because of the form of government practiced there. Moreover, the effort to impose them ignores the purpose and injures the prestige of the U.N.

Washington Star (D. C.)

Compounding a Mistake

It is difficult to see what Prime Minister Harold Wilson hopes to accomplish with his latest maneuver against rebellious Rhodesia. He has withdrawn all past proposals for a compromise settlement. And he has told the white minority of 250,000 that their government's recent rejection of the take-it-or-leave-it British plan means that they now can have "legal" independence only when the country is ruled by the black majority of 4 million. . . .

The realities of Rhodesia cannot be swept away with economic

pressures or high-and-mighty pronouncements telling the white Rhodesians that Britain refuses to grant them the independence they have already bestowed upon themselves. . . .

The toughened British position thus makes little sense. What must be hoped for is that Wilson has not slammed the door completely shut. If he has, then the folly of present policy toward Rhodesia will be compounded in a way likely to worsen the situation and hurt Britain more than it may now anticipate.

World Journal Tribune (N. Y.)

What Price Sanctions?

When, after the failure of the agreement worked out on H.M.S. Tiger, the British turned to the U.N. to ask mandatory economic sanctions to bring rebellious Rhodesia back from its precarious independence, they embarked on a difficult course. . . .

The United States has its own

responsibilities in the premises. It does not want apartheid in Africa because that can only intensify the explosion that must come. And it has an interest in maintaining the commonwealth as an important element for economic and political stability in the world.

But these responsibilities, while

they do require moral and diplomatic support for the British government, do not entail active leadership. The circumstances are too complex, the area too remote from vital American concerns to demand more of the United States than the kind of support that the British, for example, have given

this country in Southeast Asia.

The United States, whatever its critics may say, does not aspire to be a global policeman. It wants to avoid a massive confrontation of black and white in Southern Africa—and it certainly should not be in the forefront of any such confrontation.

Wall Street Journal (N. Y.)

The Rhodesian affair would be farcical were it not for its high explosive content. It is to be hoped the U.S. will steer clear of it, but that's doubtful now that Britain has thrown the thing into the U.N. Security Council. . . .

There is a threat to peace, but it stems from those black African states that from the outset have insisted on Britain's using force against Rhodesia; at the least, they will pressure the U.N. for a total economic boycott.

In the meantime, in Britain the contretemps is causing worries about a run on the pound sterling and other aggravations of an already bad economic situation.

As for the U.S., it reportedly intends to stand by Britain, but we think its talents would be better employed in trying to talk some common sense into both sides. We see no justification for this country to go along with sanctions against a nation with which it has no real grounds for quarreling at all. . . .

The Journal of Commerce (N. Y.)

What Next in Southern Africa?

In voting for the British proposal for economic sanctions against Rhodesia, the United States last week adopted a posture that it cannot hold for long except at the cost of considerable prestige.

In the first place, the case for economic sanctions has never been convincing. There is, as we have said before, little chance that they will work so long as the Union of South Africa and Portugal refuse to cooperate. The excuse that Rhodesia is in an "illegal" revolt against British rule is not con-

vincing either. Quite a number of countries have "revolted" against outside rule without provoking U.N. sanctions; on the contrary, most of these actions have been lustily cheered by the Asian-Africa bloc.

No one has suggested that Indonesia be subjected to sanctions for failing to live up to its U.N. mandate in Western New Guinea. No sanctions were applied when the Sukarno government began invading Malaysia, either. So on moral grounds the action of the Security Council looks curious indeed. . . .

It should also be interesting to see just what degree some of those clamoring most loudly for punitive measures against Rhodesia practice what they preach.

Repeated denunciation of South Africa's racial policies plus agreements to "boycott" South African goods by solemn convocations of

the Afro-Asian countries have not deterred either China or the Soviet area from trading with South Africa. Some nations, in fact, may soon see in the sanctions a good trading opportunity for themselves. It is well to remember in this connection that economics, like nature, abhors vacuums.

Philadelphia Enquirer

U. N. Sanctions and Rhodesia

The willingness of some members of the United Nations to force another member to economic suicide—to accommodate their demands in the Rhodesian matter—is revealing. And the intemperate speech by Zambia's foreign minister, Simon Kapepwe, has, if anything, strengthened the hand of Rhodesia's white supremacist Government by confirming all its bleak suspicions.

The tragic aspect of this Rhodesian "independence" movement's coming to the United Nations at all is underscored by the closeness to peaceful settlement reached by Britain's Prime Minister Harold Wilson and Rhodesia's boss, Ian Smith, in their meeting aboard H.M.S. Tiger.

They agreed that a new constitu-

tion, spurring the political advance of the native majority, was in order, and that it should include safeguards, against any retrogression. This, in itself, was a giant step forward. The one main point Smith's Cabinet refused to accept was that in the interim, between constitutions, the British Governor of Rhodesia should again assume command of law enforcement—men and institutions—in a caretaker capacity.

It does not seem to us that this divergence of opinion is of great enough proportions to continue to frustrate settlement of the larger issues. It at least offers the chance for rational change to take place, which the escalation of sanctions against Rhodesia—and anyone who helps Rhodesia—may smash beyond repair. . . .

The Chicago Tribune

Into the Maelstrom We Go

The United Nations is plunging toward a new and pointless crisis by the minute, and the United States and Britain are letting it

plunge. Both countries meekly acquiesced on Friday when the security council approved an African proposal for an oil embargo

against Ian Smith's secessionist regime in Rhodesia. . . .

You'd think that Viet Nam would have taught us not to pick up any more hot potatoes that we can't let go of. For a year, at Britain's behest, we have led the Africans to think we are willing

to do whatever is necessary to knock out the white government of Rhodesia and replace it with the usual chaos. It is time to draw the line. The longer we postpone doing so, the more inevitably we will have to choose between an embarrassing retreat and a ridiculous war.

St. Louis Globe-Democrat

UN's Dangerous Safari

. . . Not only is the Rhodesian adventure a miscarriage of the U.N. charter forbidding intervention into a nation's internal affairs, it has all the aspects of being another Congo fiasco where U.N. troops were ordered into battle against a lawful government in support of rebel savages. . . .

Perhaps the U.N. outlook in Rhodesia is ever grimmer than its

Congo misadventure. The Rhodesians, with their strong allies, the South Africans, appear ready and able to withstand U.N. sanctions.

In fact, both countries are in better economic shape than Britain whose leaders wince openly at the thought of becoming involved in any kind of economic confrontations with South Africa, its fourth best trade customer. . . .

Milwaukee Sentinel

Keep Out!

. . . Whatever the U.N. does, and the chances are all too probable that it will vote sanctions, the United States should make it clear that it is going to keep its nose out of the Rhodesian affair. The United States has all it can handle, and more, in Vietnam.

Here again, however, the chances are all too probable that the United States will get involved with the Rhodesian problem. For one thing, it probably has political debts to repay to African bloc nations for their votes against Red China. For another, the United States seems to be afflicted with a

compulsion to go looking for and getting into trouble.

To take the second step into the Rhodesia situation by joining in trade sanctions would be to set both feet on the slippery slope to war. For, make no mistake, sanctions would be followed by a mounting demand for the use of military force, with you know who ultimately being sucked in.

It will be extremely ridiculous if the United States, while it is attempting to build trade bridges to Soviet Russia and its satellites, joins in barricading the trade bridge to Rhodesia. If the United

States does this, it should be consistent by chopping off trade with the Red bloc nations, for the

masses in these nations have no more political rights than do the blacks in Rhodesia. . . .

Indianapolis News

War In Africa?

The efforts of Great Britain and the United Nations to topple the government of Ian Smith in Rhodesia begin to resemble, all too ominously, the 1961 U.N. aggression against Katanga.

It is amazing that many liberal spokesmen who profess an interest in "peace" and urge concessions and compromise toward the Communists are so willing to go to the brink of war—and over it, as in Katanga—against anti-Communists

to enforce the precepts of their egalitarian faith. . . .

Since such a war would in all probability be financed and supplied by the United States—as was the U.N.'s aggression against Katanga—this is a topic which should be of grave concern to the people of America, and to the American Congress. It is a matter on which American spokesmen should speak out without equivocating. . . .

Canton Repository (Ohio)

Tiger by the Tail

Great Britain has a Rhodesian tiger by the tail. . . .

It is quite obvious that Britain does not have the inclination or the resources to overthrow the Ian Smith government if sanctions fail. And sanctions cannot succeed unless the United States puts the weight of its seapower into a blockade. Britain will not and cannot do it.

If Rhodesia withstands whatever sanctions are enforced against

her, the cry then will be for military action. . . .

Britain has stood aloof from many American adventures in trying to police the world. It's about time we permit her to solve her own problem in Rhodesia.

In her abstention on the Security Council sanctions vote, France hit the nail on the head with this explanation:

"This is an internal British matter."

Portland Oregonian

African Quicksand

U. S. support of Great Britain's proposal for mandatory economic sanctions against secessionist Rho-

desia puts this country squarely into a family fight on the side of a government, Britain's, which has

given only nagging criticism, rather than support, to the U.S. effort to stop Communist aggression in Vietnam.

When United Nations Ambassador Arthur Goldberg told the Security Council the United States will apply "the full force of our law" to help make effective the binding embargoes against export of a dozen key Rhodesian products, he set a U.S. course which also may involve later sanctions against South Africa.

There is no reason to suspect that South Africa will not make good on its promise to continue to supply Rhodesia with oil and other goods, without regard for U.N.

sanctions. With such "liberal" journals in Britain as the *Guardian* calling for military action to enforce embargoes, and with black African nations demanding tougher sanctions, the risk of more than economic war with Rhodesia, South Africa or even Portugal must be apparent. . . .

We don't like any part of the United States' becoming deeply involved in another African adventure at a time it is hard-pressed in Southeast Asia. It is all very well to take a lofty, idealistic position against white supremacy. But there is also much to be said for realism in protecting our own national interests.

Los Angeles Times

Rhodesia Embargo Poses New Risks

... Strickly speaking, the Rhodesian problem should never have been brought before the United Nations at all, since the case of the break-away colony was really an internal British matter. . . .

Predictably, failure of the embargo will bring strident demands from the Black Africans to extend the embargo against South Africa—and enforce the sanctions with a military blockade, if necessary.

The burden of any such action would fall upon Great Britain and the United States.

. . . The United States cannot

and must not support any extensions of the sanctions to South Africa.

If the embargo against Rhodesia is unworkable, it may logically be asked why Washington supported it.

There are several explanations, but the underlying reasons were the desire to avoid condemnation by the Black Africans, and the anxiety to head off Communist meddling.

If the embargo fails, however, and African frustrations increase, it may turn out that we have only worsened the situation on both counts.

Spokane Spokesman-Review

We Should Avoid Rhodesian Penalty

. . . The Rhodesian government is not an enemy of the United States and has done us no harm. There is no reason for this country

to indorse or participate in any program for U.N. economic warfare against the Smith government or the Rhodesian people.

The U. S. and Rhodesia

... Rhodesia, it has been reported, was prepared to accept all major points Britain had insisted upon for reconciliation—including unimpeded progress of the black African majority to political power—except for one provision. That was the demand that Rhodesia surrender its independence back to Britain while a new constitution was being written and ac-

cepted. . . .

It is not surprising that Rhodesia refused now to relinquish the self-government it has exercised since 1923 and for the first time in 43 years turn power over to an alien governor.

The United States would never consider such a surrender. Nor should it expect it of any other government.

Rhodesia: Not Our Affair

... The history of sanctions in international affairs offers no comfort to those seeking to overthrow the regime of Ian Smith by such mandatory economic penalties. They never have worked.

Would it not be wiser for the United States to stay neutral and work for moderation in the dispute? . . .

There is no compelling reason for the United States to pull Prime Minister Wilson's political chestnuts out of the fire. A wiser and more realistic policy would be for the United States to exert its influence on Britain and Rhodesia to continue negotiations for a peaceful solution.

Rhodesian Question Should Concern All

After more than a year of talk, of vacillation and of growing discontent at home, Great Britain's Prime Minister Harold Wilson has brought the question of mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia before the United Nations. Americans, who heretofore have not been overly concerned with the entire situation, should now begin to be—because events could involve the

United States in an adventure more potentially dangerous and costly than the war in Vietnam. . . .

This is not the first time we have been called upon to pull British chestnuts from the fire—but although we are expected to perform promptly on call, no such favor is returned by the British. Our request for an embargo against

Cuba—clearly more of a threat to world peace than Rhodesia—was denied by Britain on grounds that it would limit freedom of the seas. Our call for an embargo against

North Vietnam has similarly gone unheeded. Our appeals for an end to trade with Red China in the goods that make aggression possible similarly are ignored.

Fort Lauderdale News (Fla.)

Rhodesia Commitment Again Finds U. S. Bailing Britain Out Of Trouble

One might ask how all this so directly concerns the U.S. To begin with, any U.N. action, be it economic sanctions or the use of force, will find this country picking up the major share of the cost of such actions. . . .

Needless to say, there aren't too many Americans who are at all familiar with this Rhodesian situation who like the way this business is shaping up. Why, it might be asked, are we so all-fired anxious to pull British chestnuts out of the fire when Great Britain has flatly refused to cooperate with our efforts to impose an economic blockade against Communist Cuba? And who is going to have to come to Britain's economic assistance again if the U.N. applies mandatory economic sanctions against

South Africa as well as Rhodesia thereby forcing the British to renounce the third largest customer for its exports?

This whole affair adds up to this country again sticking its nose where it hadn't ought to be. And the worst part of it is that neither Congress nor our people have been or need to be consulted about going along with this U.N. deal. The President and the State Department don't need any permission from the Congress to get us involved in this messy U.N. business even though such a decision carries within it the seeds that can not only throw all of Africa into turmoil but just about complete the job of destroying the U.N. as an effective world peace-keeping organization.

Richmond Times-Dispatch (Va.)

Illegal UN Intervention

. . . U.S. Ambassador Goldberg made the absolutely fantastic statement in backing up sanctions, that the U.N. is invoking this procedure because "the international community will not tolerate the existence of a discriminatory sys-

tem based on minority rule." How many of the members of the U.N. base their governmental systems on majority rule? The Asian-African bloc has hardly any such governments. The Communist bloc can't name even one. . . .

The Rhodesian Follies

. . . The United Nations is involved in this ridiculous squabble because of the assertion that Rhodesia, with a total population slightly in excess of four million, is a threat to world peace!

The United States—for reasons which aren't too clear to many Americans—is standing by Britain in the attempt to "discipline" Rhodesia for that state's refusal to permit the immediate participation in government of the black Africans making up the majority of its population.

There is, undoubtedly, a threat to peace in Africa. But it comes not from the government of Rhodesia but from the black African states that want Britain to use armed force against Rhodesia's whites. They demand, at the least, a total economic boycott against Rhodesia.

The United States, which has troubles of its own in many other fields, has no real grounds for joining in the quarrel with Rhodesia. . . .

SOUTH AFRICA

Gen. S. L. A. Marshall in the World Journal Tribune

Absurd is not quite the word for the decrees voted by the United Nations General Assembly directing that South Africa yield Southwest Africa to the U.N.'s care until the territory is fit for independence.

Plain wacky fits much better.

Here we have 114 nations, spoken for by as many delegates, some of them supposedly intelligent, agreeing that the solution to the problem is to set up a small council within the U.N. to "recommend practical means by which Southwest Africa should be administered" from the outside.

U.S. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg went along with the pack in perpetrating this mischievous nonsense. Had the General Assembly then voted to suspend the law of gravity and turn the Congo River system about so that the waters would flow eastward, that would have been a full day's work and all of one piece. But it would also have warranted a suspicion that the world body is a collection of idiots.

We can put aside for the moment the larger issue of whether the action has any basis in justice or law or is in fact an abrogation without regard for precedent or consequence.

Southwest Africa is mainly desert, twice the size of California, with a population of one-half million, most of them Bantu. The U.N. says these people have been

betrayed under the original League of Nations mandate, and charges that the conditions in Southwest Africa constitute a "threat to world peace."

The irony is that Southwest Africa is the most tranquil territory anywhere. It has only 550 policemen, the majority being Bantu, and no troops. Would that be possible if the tribes were oppressed, felt themselves wronged, and the land seethed with revolt? The solemn fact is that a white stranger feels more secure among the tribes in Southwest Africa than walking the streets of any American city.

All of this, under prodding from the central African states, the U.N. chooses not so much to ignore as to deny, turning truth into falsehood by fiat. It is bad enough that the Africans still behave like children when they turn to world politics. But when Western statesmen join the frenzied dance, one wonders if all reason has fled.

The U.N. cannot alter the facts of geography because Goldberg and others so vote. But this is what the U.N. is now saying it will do, it will find a "practical" way to administer Southwest Africa from the outside when in fact there is no practical way except out of South Africa. Plain geography determines that.

If the U.N. could get hold of Walvis Bay, the only large and serviceable port along Southwest Africa's coast, it might have a

lever by which to start an operation. But that is where the rub comes.

Walvis Bay and its environs are not, and never have been, a part of the mandated territory. It has been politically a part of South Africa for almost 100 years. South

African title to the enclave has never been in dispute.

Thus, to get a foot in the door of Southwest Africa at the only point possible, the U.N. would have to attack South African territory directly—commit an aggression.

John Davenport in Fortune Article, "The Only Real Industrial Complex South of Milan"

... To South Africans, living far down under, some of the charges leveled against their country, such as that it is "endangering the peace," seem fantastic. It appears strange to them that in a world so full of injustice and repression South Africa should be singled out as the whipping boy. But the deeper flaw in much of the criticism of South Africa is its excessively abstract and ideological character. In the debate now raging, some things that deserve con-

demnation in South Africa get swallowed up in distortions; much that is promising gets overlooked; and the complex realities that have shaped the country and its institutions are obscured. Among those realities none is more important than economic enterprise in all its ramifications. "We have paid so much attention to the *separate* development of the races," a U.S. businessman in South Africa recently ruminated, "that we are in danger of forgetting all about development itself."...

Washington Post (D. C.)

The African Illusion

Someday the United States may rue having voted for the Southwest Africa resolution in the United Nations. This reservation has nothing to do with the obnoxiousness of *apartheid*, about which there is a broad consensus, or with South Africa's flouting of responsibilities in the former mandated territory. It concerns, rather, the futility of a resolution whereby the U.N. is supposed to take over administration of Southwest Africa, with no power or resources with which to do so. Empty resolutions adopted in order to curry favor—in this instance with the Africans—set

a dangerous precedent in the U.N.

There is another disagreeable aspect in the supposition that the United States may have been seeking to line up African votes to keep Communist China out of the U.N. Here is indeed a paradox. Some of the African countries would be perfectly content to drive South Africa out of the U.N., but we seemingly think we have to bribe them to vote against China. Yet when it comes to cases, South Africa is in no way comparable to China as a threat to the peace.

This paradox derives, of course, from the widespread feeling that

discrimination based on race is the worst of all evils. Racial discrimination is bad, and American policy opposes it internally as well as externally. But if it was necessary to vote for this sort of resolution in order to avoid being accused of favoring *apartheid*, we are in a bad way. There are many kinds of discrimination and many different offenses against human liberty and dignity in the world. Any honest enumeration ought to go a great deal farther and involve many countries—including some of the loudest in their condemnation of South Africa.

Worst of all, the vote demon-

strated the unreality that has been encouraged in the Assembly. There is an argument, it is true, that such resolutions are really innocuous in that they let members blow off steam. But they also enshrine a kind of irresponsibility that could be turned against any country. There is good reason for believing that many governments voted for the resolution because they were afraid of being regarded as racist if they did not. That is a poor basis for confidence among nations. Sooner or later U.N. members—especially the major powers, including the United States—are going to have to start saying “no” when they mean “no.” . . .

Cleveland Plain Dealer

U. N. Edict Shows Weakness

The United Nations bit off more than it can chew by a paper resolution to relieve South Africa of its mandate over South West Africa. More than a mistake, it was a blunder.

The U.N. hasn't the muscle or the leadership available to suc-

cessfully effect the takeover that would be necessary if South Africa complied at once with the edict, which she won't.

There was more emotion than reason in the overwhelming passage of the resolution, 114 to 2. . . .

The Cincinnati Enquirer

South West Africa in the Balance

. . . The U.N. action was the culmination of a long and thorny legal controversy in which the Republic of South Africa has had few allies except the International Court of Justice, which refused this spring to order the very step the U.N. General Assembly took last week.

If South Africa declines to hand over the territory to the U.N.—and there is every indication it will—the question of implementing the General Assembly's decision

will fall into the lap of the Security Council. The choice then will be whether to (1) yield to a possible big-power veto against any action to translate the General Assembly's resolution into fact, (2) find a face-saving formula that will leave South West Africa's status unresolved or (3) mount a military effort to wrest the territory's control from South Africa. In view of the U.N.'s already-shaky financial plight, the burden for the third alternative would fall on the United States. . . .

Nationally syndicated column by John Chamberlain

If Americans are gambling that their troubles will be over once they have solved their problems in Southeast Asia, they may have a second think coming. For another—and possibly much greater—crisis seems to be shaping up at the southern end of the African continent.

Inexorably, at the U.N., 54 delegations from the Afro-Asian states are engaged in weaving a snare for Great Britain that could end by trapping all the great industrial and trading nations of the world.

The first strands in the snare consist of resolutions calling upon the U.N. to do something effective to invalidate the old League of Nations mandate granted to South Africa to govern its neighbor territory of South-West Africa.

Last July the International Court of Justice refused to pass judgment in the case when Ethiopia and Liberia entered a complaint that South Africa had violated a promise by extending apartheid to a land it had originally received in trust.

Whether the "law" of the League of Nations still holds today when the League itself is long since dead is a good question. But the Afro-Asian nations insist that the morals of the situation run against South Africa, and they want the U.N. Security Council to use any force necessary to end apartheid in the South-West Africa territory.

The British, with their highly sensitive moral sense, are taking the side of the Afro-Asians in the argument. But the British have a practical sense, too. So, when Britain's Lord Caradon made a common front the other day with Arthur Goldberg, the chief U.S. Delegate to the U.N., in condemning South Africa, he was careful to advocate punitive action that would be within Britain's "clear capacity."

What does "clear capacity"

mean? Looking at the situation as a pounds and pence proposition, Britain cannot possibly afford to be party to U.N. economic sanctions against South Africa.

The British port of Southampton gets fully one half its business from the South African trade; if this were to collapse, putting 50,000 Britons out of work, the Wilson government would certainly have a major crisis to surmount.

In a recent report to the U.N. Security Council, the British said their exports to South Africa amounted to 200 million pounds a year. Where in the tight world competitive market would they find alternative markets for the motor vehicles, woven cotton fabrics, tractors, railroad equipment and electrical instruments that now go to Cape Town?

And could the British forego the insurance income and the freight charges they now collect from South Africa? Could they give up the 60 million pounds in foreign exchange that they derive from their South African investments?

Since South Africa is Britain's third best customer, coming after the United States and Canada, the answers to these questions should be obvious. U.N. economic sanctions against South Africa would drag down the already beleaguered British pound. This, in turn, would involve the U.S. dollar. And the world could very well have another 1929 collapse on its hands.

This would be a man-made catastrophe, but don't be too sure that it won't happen. Moral issues, once they have been coupled with agitation that involves the intangible quality of "face," have a way of taking off to unforeseen destinations where abstract morality brings a totally immoral ruin.

Now that both Arthur Goldberg and Lord Caradon have said that South Africa has forfeited its right

to keep the South-West Africa mandate, the Afro-Asian nations will hardly allow the West to forget it. The din has just started.

The other day, in New York, an influential publisher, speaking at a session in which he was seeking policy guidance, threw up his hands at the South-West Africa situation.

"How," he asked, "can we get

Arthur Goldberg off the hook?" To which the publisher got a sardonic answer in the form of another question: "What makes you think Arthur Goldberg wants to get off the hook?"

Goldberg may avoid the final responsibility if, as one report has it, he is contemplating resigning his U.N. job. But he has placed the U.S. right on the hook to stay.

The Chicago Tribune

The Pinnacle of U. N. Folly

Tho its house is already littered with the half-finished results of impetuous decisions, the United Nations has now rushed into what may well prove the most disastrous—and yet the most pointless—venture of its career.

It voted overwhelmingly to strip South Africa of its League of Nations mandate over South-West Africa and to take over the administration of the territory itself.

The majority yielded to vindictive pressure from the Afro-Asian bloc, and, incredible as it may seem, from the United States as well. In doing so, it lost touch with reality. It voted to challenge the most powerful and prosperous country in Africa without so much as questioning why it should do so or even how it can do so.

It accepted the hackneyed Afro-Asian charge of "oppression" even tho the Africans themselves formally abandoned this charge for lack of evidence in the recent action which they brought before the World court. The court subsequently dismissed the action on the ground that the complaining countries, Ethiopia and Liberia, were not qualified to speak for the defunct League of Nations.

The U.N. accepted the charge that South Africa's regime in South-West Africa is a threat to world peace even tho two of the World court justices who backed the African cause acknowledged that charges of militarization were, as one of them put it, completely without foundation."...

And where would the U.N. get [an] armada for the enforcement of what it has chosen to interpret as the will of the defunct League of Nations" Obviously—and especially in view of Ambassador Goldberg's encouragement—from the United States. And to add to the absurdity, the United States was never even a member of the league.

It is tragically and utterly nonsensical that we should be propelled toward a military showdown with a powerful country, which has always been friendly to us, over a phony issue. South-West Africa is not the real issue. It is a vast desert with a population not much greater than Du Page county, consisting largely of bushmen who, whatever may be said about the policy of apartheid, do not regard themselves as "oppressed."...

It may be wryly humorous to find us now indorsing a proposal

to blow up South Africa, the commonwealth, and the British economy along with it. But that doesn't make the proposal a sensible one. The United States ought to make it abundantly clear right now that we are not going to contribute

one cent or one man for a vendetta against South Africa, and that we don't want anything to do with an organization which succumbs to such ridiculous ideas. If Mr. Goldberg won't make this clear, Congress had better.

Milwaukee Sentinel

Stirring Trouble

One would think the United Nations has quite enough trouble to contend with around the world. Apparently it doesn't, however, for the general assembly has gone out of its way to stir up new trouble for the U.N. and the world in general by proclaiming the termination of South Africa's mandate over South-West Africa....

The resolution cannot be put into effect except by force. To

take "direct responsibility" over the territory, the U.N. would have to commit an act of aggression, mounting a military invasion of South-West Africa....

So now we have the U.N., standing on legal claims its own court had knocked down, threatening to extend rather than reduce military activity. That's strange behavior for an organization supposedly dedicated to maintaining international peace.

St. Louis Globe-Democrat

Decline of the United Nations

... Yesterday the U.N. was pre-occupied in passing a resolution calling for an end to South Africa's rule over South West Africa—a rule, incidentally, which was upheld by the International Court of Justice as recently as July of this year. And it was our own U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg who reportedly had the largest role in drafting the resolution urging an end to South African rule, charging it had forfeited all right to administer that country because of its apartheid policy.

The frightful prospect of the U.N. racial invasion of Africa is that it actually might unseat the two best administrations in Africa and turn these two prospering nations over to totally unqualified

black majorities. The result would be the same as it has been in most African nations where the British and other colonial powers prematurely withdrew and were supplanted by native rulers—chaos, bloodshed and misrule by juntas and dictators....

It is time that President Johnson and Congress, when it reconvenes, reexamine the United States position in the U.N. and demand that the world body be reorganized so that it can return to its original mission of preserving the peace. The U.N. has become more of a liability to world peace than an asset. Our government must face up to this reality before the U.N. goes the way of the League of Nations.

Tread Slowly in Africa

... This is one scrap the U.S. hoped to delay if not avoid, but it went along with the vast U.N. majority which voted to strip South Africa of the old League of Nation's mandate. The U.S., however, is not hastening to take the lead in implementing that action.

The aim of this country should be to stay out of as much African fly-paper as possible, even if we must irritate the so-called newly independent or "emerging" nations there.

We have our hands full in Asia and in our own hemisphere.

Nationally syndicated column by James Jackson Kilpatrick

For nearly half a century, the Union of South Africa has administered affairs of South-West Africa under a mandate granted by the old League of Nations. This vast and largely primitive land, as large as Spain and Portugal combined, forms a vital link between South Africa and Portuguese Angola. There is grave doubt, as a matter of law, that the United Nations is successor in title to the mandatory commitments of the League. But even if this were so, the terms of the mandate plainly leave the settlement of disputes arising under its provisions to the World Court; and the World Court in July tossed out the suit brought by Ethiopia and Liberia to set the mandate aside.

It is ludicrous that men who talk glibly of "world rule of law" should now gang up to go beyond the law. For the United Nations to seize control of South-West Africa, under its own self-serving proclamation, is an exercise in confiscation, aggression, global grand larceny—call it what you will.

But this is not the end of this dismaying affair. South Africa and Portugal simply cannot permit

this territory to be thrown into the chaos that would follow, Congo-like, on the heels of a U.N. seizure. And they will not permit it. South-West Africa can be taken only by force. Where is such a force to come from? Who is to finance it? The Congress of the United States has its addled moments, but if the Congress ever consents to the appropriation of the taxpayers' money to pay for a U.N. invasion of South-West Africa, the Congress will have lost its collective mind—and a hundred members will have lost their seats.

One is reminded in all this of the famous colloquy between the vainglorious Glendower and the young Henry Percy. "I can call spirits from the vasty deep," boasts Glendower. "Why, so can I," says Hotspur, "or so can any man; but will they come when you do call for them?" In the same fashion, the Afro-Asian bloc can call upon South Africa to divest itself of its mandated territory. But will South Africa respond? It is idle to believe it.

In his recently published book, "South-West Africa: The Last Pioneer Country," Thomas Molnar has provided a brilliant, eye-

witness account of the realities of this primitive land. Patiently, he builds the case for common sense. Theories of one man, one vote, of Western government, of modern commerce, simply cannot be imposed without prolonged preparation upon Bushmen, Hottentots and Ovambo tribesmen. Molnar finds that South Africa, contrary to the hysterical and unfounded charges of her critics, has in fact "promoted to the utmost the material and moral well-being and

the social progress of the inhabitants." This was the charge of the mandate.

But it is the very essence of the new bigotry that facts, evidence, the realities of tribal life, the wisdom of evolutionary changes, must never be considered. A mob spirit has infected the Assembly. Off they marched on Thursday, 114-2, to proclaim an end to South Africa's mandate. And U.S. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg trotted along.

Tulsa World

Aiming at the World Court

When the World Court recently refused to rescind the mandate of the Union of South Africa over South-west Africa, U.N. member African nations were so outraged they vowed revenge....

Immediately, the African nationalists, along with U.N. colleagues of Asia, placed in action a program seeking two goals:

1) To jam a resolution through the General Assembly asking for the immediate revocation of the South African mandate;

2) To seek to increase African representation on the World Court as a means of gaining "favorable" decisions.

The weight of the movement to alter U.N. policy has already been demonstrated. Just a week ago the Afro-Asian combine did succeed in rushing through a resolution re-

garding the lifting of the mandate. The ease with which this was accomplished portends the real possibility that success also will be had in the move to either expand or alter the membership makeup of the World Court....

There is no question but that representation on the World Court should be composed of *legal* competent from throughout the world—North, South, East and West—leaving sociological prejudices out. This is not precisely what the Afro-Asian bloc is seeking. It is attempting to dominate the Court and in the process *promulgate sociological rather than strictly legalistic decisions*.

Left to their design, the U.N. could quickly be bankrupt by nations who contribute precious little to its upkeep or capability as a leader for peace in the world.

George N. Crocker in the San Francisco Examiner

STARK though the fact is, few are talking about it. There is peace in the southern triangle of

Africa, that strategic wedge of land that guards the confluence of the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic;

but if the General Assembly of the United Nations has its wilful way, there will be war there. The "Parliament of Peace," as we have heard it called, has turned the present session into an orgy of drumbeating....

One would hope that the Parliament of Peace is at least a deliberative body. But no; when Foreign Minister Hilgard Muller of the Republic of South Africa arose to present the case of his country against the resolution to strip it of control of South West Africa, most of the Afro-Asian delegations walked out of the room, along with the Communist bloc.

His argument was formidable, for the issue had been in litigation in the World Court for six years, and last July South Africa won

the case. It was also demonstrable that an attempt to seize the territory in the name of the U.N. would be resisted by both white and black South West Africans, that an armed invasion would precipitate war with South Africa at the least, and that if the venture were successful the only achievement would be chaos.

They came back and passed the resolution. But who is to do the invading when the time comes? Britain? Indeed not; the British coolly abstained. The French? They abstained too. But Goldberg trotted along with the herd....

We should drop our illusions. The U.N. can be made to function as an instrument of aggression rather than a bulwark of peace. And the U.S. could wind up bearing the cost in blood and treasure.

ANGOLA

Drew Middleton in a special dispatch to
The New York Times

If some Portuguese businessmen had their way, there would be a statue here to the unknown rebel who fired the first shot of the insurrection five years ago.

For they say it was that insurrection, now reduced to sporadic attacks by scattered bands, that jerked the Portuguese Government in Lisbon out of its 18th-century attitude toward Angola and

prompted the present program of economic and social development.

The insurrection, as one official put it, had an effect the reverse of that intended. The Portuguese not only became more determined than ever to retain Angola but also increased their investment in the country and began, belatedly, to improve the lot of Angola's estimated five million Africans.

During the second five-year de-

velopment plan, Portugal, neither a large nor a rich nation, spent \$140-million in Government funds in Angola. Half of that was in loans to Angola. There was also extensive borrowing in Angola for the revival of local enterprises that had come close to collapse at the start of the insurrection.

The autumn of 1961, when Portuguese troops were moving into the north to break the insurrection, also brought a number of reforms. Africans were given full citizenship. The requirement that Africans work for a specified period each year was eliminated. The expansion of school, health and public welfare activities was begun.

The emphasis is on vocational education. The Portuguese believe Africa needs bookkeepers, mechanics and farmers far more than she needs lawyers or doctors. The five faculties of the new university here are medicine, engineering, agronomy, veterinary science and teacher training.

The attitude toward race here is outspoken even for the Portuguese, who draw no color bar.

The object, all Portuguese agree, is a multiracial, pluralistic society. They believe they have a much better chance of attaining it than the white South Africans have of achieving separate development—if they are left alone.

The Portuguese believe that the rebellion can be ended—it is very near defeat now, according to for-

ign diplomats—and that Angola can move forward economically and socially if only the rest of the world will keep its hands off.

By the rest of the world they mean Black Africa acting through the United Nations with, at times, the support of the United States.

The Portuguese maintain that the situation in Angola is a domestic matter because the overseas territories are considered under Portuguese law an integral part of the nation.

Foreign diplomats agree with the Portuguese that the insurrection is no longer a military danger.

The two independence movements are Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola and the Republican Government of Angola in Exile.

The first of these movements apparently gets the lion's share of support from the Soviet Union and Communist China. The second, led by Holden Roberto, has degenerated into small bands living off the country. Recently the Portuguese have noticed that these bands change allegiance from movement to movement according to the supplies available.

The Portuguese concede that the present economic and social development owes much to the concern aroused by the rebellion. They say they have made more progress in the last five years than in the preceding five hundred.

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